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COMMUNITY POWER AS AN ELEMENT OF SOCIAL ACTION

by



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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled, "Community Power as an Element of Social Action," submitted by Patrick George Binns in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Development at the local level is a complex procedure which depends upon coordinated social action. To obtain the highest levels of coordination and development, it is necessary for the local community to involve all available human and physical resources.

One of the major resources a community has is the power group. Those who are recognized as being the top influentials should be involved in coordinated social action. They are the people who legitimize social action processes and programs. With this type of involvement, development can be positively sanctioned. Without legitimization, constructive social action is likely to be discouraged as it gathers negative sanctions.

A study of the nature and use of community power is essential for community development. It is with this task that this thesis is concerned.

This study examines relevant literature concerning social systems, social action processes, and community power. The urban area of Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, is described, delineated and the influential community power actors identified. Finally the relevance of this information to the on-going social action process is indicated.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

"Changes at the community level are taking place at such a rapid rate that the entire structure and functions of community living are being transformed."¹ In order that the community might cope with this change that Roland Warren talks about, it is necessary that it be guided and coordinated.

The success of a coordinated social action process and the programs which it involves depend to a large extent on the involvement of people. They may see the process as beneficial or as simply another imposition of disruptive influence by outsiders or government.

When change agents attempt to introduce constructive social action into a community, it is necessary to encourage the adoption of new goals and objectives which fit local needs. Studies of reactions to social action processes indicate that many factors affect the degree of acceptance that can be expected. The socio-economic characteristics of the affected population, the manner in which the process evolves, the community people that are involved, and the benefits received, are key factors. But it is not individual factors working

¹Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Skokie, Illinois: Rand McNally Company, 1963), p. 53.

separately that raise or lower the probability of successful development, it is how all the factors, taken jointly, interact.

Development plans that work well in one community may not suit the needs of another community. Each process and the programs it involves, must be tailored to the needs and desires of the people.

Research in many North American communities has shown that successful coordinated social action depends, in large measure, on the identification and involvement of key people in the community. Whether the process involves industrial development, new recreation facilities, or developing new programs for agriculture, forestry, and tourism, the involvement of key leaders is a major factor in the success of these programs.

Although many community projects have seemed beneficial, they have failed dismally because local support and involvement were lacking. Many have failed because the role or reaction of key people in the area affected by the program was not objectively realized. For the sake of successful social action, the influential people should not only be informed, but should be involved in the social action process.

How are key people (power actors) involved in local social action? This is essentially the problem this thesis confronts. A community might not be eager to participate in the development process for a variety of reasons. However, if careful and systematic effort is made to involve them in it, and make them aware of its potential benefits, they are much more likely to support the program for

development than not.

In our diversified Canadian economy, persons of power or influence are usually divided among various interest and occupational groupings. Each group may represent an independent structure composed of individuals whose main influence resides only in a particular social or economic activity. However, in many areas concerned with socio-economic development, the people of power cooperate in supporting each other. In some cases, a relatively small group can influence most important community decisions.

These influential individuals usually have considerable control over the community's resources and services, including employment, finances, land, wages and other matters. They derive a considerable amount of power from the positions they have come to hold in the community.

It is important for change agents to understand the structure of power in which these actors are involved, for example, to know how many people hold these positions, and from what bases they draw their power.

OBJECTIVE AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

The objective of this thesis is, in general, to explore, research, and analyse community power in relation to social action and, more specifically, to answer the following questions as they apply to the Prince Edward Island community of Charlottetown.

1. Who are the people that compose a community power structure?

2. In what areas of community affairs are these people influential leaders?

3. How valid is the technique used in this thesis in identifying community power actors?

In many instances, individuals who have been long-term residents in a community know the right answers to the first two questions without perhaps being able to explain how they know. Much of the research data contained in this thesis are from such people. It is assumed that these knowledgeable people will have a reasonably accurate picture of the structure of power and influence in the community and that by pooling their knowledge, a fairly reliable picture of the structure will emerge.

The power actors that were identified were also interviewed. Information obtained from them, when combined with that obtained from the knowledgeable, was taken as giving a valid picture of the structure of power and influence in the community.

Since power actors have previously been involved in local decisions, they possess a great store of knowledge about the local area, its people, their needs and desires. When consulted in the development of social action, this knowledge can be brought to bear on problems and proposals. The power actors can also be used to disseminate information to a great number of community people. If contact is maintained with power actors throughout the process of social action, they can help evaluate progress and suggest necessary changes.

The power actors were identified from information given by the knowledgeable. Each knowledgeable interviewed was carefully chosen and encouraged to be perfectly open in his comments. Knowledgeables included such people as bankers, extension workers, businessmen, local government officials and other long-term residents, who were likely to know a good deal about the community.¹

Interviews were structured around three areas of importance:

1. Delineation of the relevant geographical area.
2. Identification of community problems.
3. Identification of community power actors.

Data were collected during the summer of 1970 in the greater Charlottetown urban area of Prince Edward Island. Information on the total "Development Plan" for the Province of Prince Edward Island was also made use of as required.²

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The "Development Plan for Prince Edward Island" was signed in March of 1969 and the Agreement and its related memoranda of implementation will expire on March 31, 1984. Thus, the Plan will operate for fifteen years. During fifteen years, the people who compose a community power structure change. As well, their relation to social

¹Ronald C. Powers, Identifying the Community Power Structure (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, 1965), p. 9.

²Development Plan for Prince Edward Island (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970).

action projects change. However, as the power actors and projects change, the fundamental relationships and roles of legitimization in the development process remain somewhat the same.

Since this study was completed early in the Development Plan, it is not possible to evaluate the relationship of the identified power actors to sustained development. Thus, many occurring questions may not be answered. Even so, this thesis could make it easier to evaluate the relationship in subsequent years.

The author also acknowledges that there could be sampling error in the data collection and data analysis of Chapter 5. However the sample used was large enough to ensure that power actors were recognized by a considerable number of community knowledgeable.

Chapter 2

CHARLOTTETOWN: HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Charlottetown was originally founded by the French and named Port La Joie, on Isle St. Jean. In 1763 the British Duke of Kent renamed both the settlement and the island, Charlottetown and Prince Edward Island, respectively.

The early settlers were all farmers, at least to the degree that it required to supply their families with milk, butter, roots and other vegetables. This early trend disappeared through the years as markets were established. Part of the reason for selecting Charlottetown as a settlement was the natural harbour. The harbour provided for easy defense and was very beautiful. Unlike other Maritime cities, however, the harbour had limited port use because it was shallow in comparison with Halifax or St. John, thus restricting the maneuverability of fleets. Ship use increased through business with other settlements along the coast of Prince Edward Island and the mainland. Charlottetown's trade increased considerably from year to year.

The settlement's internal development was largely agricultural until road building to the outer areas developed. Then the town gradually became more urban in character as pasture gave way to building sites, and as the community became a strong service center. By the turn of the century, ships were being built in the Charlottetown area and were loaded with agricultural and wood products to export

to many world ports.

From settlement in 1765 to a census taken in 1827,¹ a period of sixty-two years, the population rose from about 300 to 1,649. In the next three years, a spectacular increase was evidenced as the population grew to 3,000. Then, in 1855, the first municipal administration on Prince Edward Island was formed when civic elections were held under the City of Charlottetown Incorporation Act. At this time the population of the city was more than 6,500 people.

Charlottetown gained special fame from the meeting held in the City's Confederation Chamber which led to the Quebec Conference, which in turn led in 1866 to the establishment of the British North America Act. In 1873 the Province of Prince Edward Island joined Confederation which gave Charlottetown further administrative responsibilities. It had become the capital of the new province.

As the capital, Charlottetown became the center of political activities of the Island. It had initially depended on the governor and his officials from England. Population growth and economic activity stimulated interest in local affairs by local people. In time, a local council became responsible to the Legislature and Cabinet government came into being.

The land question was a major issue in early political bargaining. Much of the land was controlled by absentee landlords, while settlers sought the rights of freehold

¹Duncan Campbell, History of Prince Edward Island (Charlottetown: Bremner Brothers, 1875).

tenure.¹ This question was largely solved after Confederation when the Dominion Government loaned the local government enough money to buy out proprietors.

The extent of business that had developed in Charlottetown by Confederation is evident in historical data. Duncan Campbell recorded many businesses that were in existence in 1875.² The family names of firms in business according to his record in 1875 recur several times in the findings of this thesis.

At present, the greater Charlottetown urban area is composed of seven centers and has a population of approximately 26,000. The largest center is Charlottetown with a population of 19,000. The second largest, Sherwood, has a population of nearly 3,200. Parkdale, the other village within the Charlottetown urban area, has a population of about 2,400. The other four centers, Southport, Bunbury, East Royalty and West Royalty, have populations of 300 to 400 and are recognized as having school district status.

The growth of the six centers adjacent to Charlottetown in the urban area has taken place slowly over a number of years. The initial boundaries established by Charlottetown some two hundred years ago provided more than adequate space for the town's needs. However those same boundaries are now unrealistically restrictive.

The few remaining areas within Charlottetown's city limits

¹F. MacKinnon, The Government of Prince Edward Island (Toronto: University Press, 1951), p. 19.

²Campbell, op. cit.

Table 1
Centers in the Greater Charlottetown Urban
Area by Population Size and Type

Center	Population	City	Village	School District
Charlottetown	19,000	x		
Parkdale	2,400		x	
Sherwood	3,200		x	
Bunbury	380			x
Southport	360			x
East Royalty	350			x
West Royalty	300			x

NOTE: Population figures reflect estimates made in the summer of 1970.

which have not been built up are small and difficult to service with utilities. The cost of providing these services appears exorbitantly high. For that reason, the ever-increasing area required by residents for business, industry and administration has tended to force them from the city center. They, in turn, establish homes in jurisdictions bordering on the city and lower the tax base of the central city.

A few years ago the communities immediately surrounding Charlottetown were rural in character, but as families bought land and established homes the centers have become more and more urban. As their populations have increased, new problems have arisen. As fire hazards have increased, more public protection has been required. Education needs have demanded more and better schools. As well,

people now expect the facilities enjoyed by their neighbours such as paved streets, street lighting and sidewalks. Problems such as health, sanitation and education are pressing. The densely-populated villages of Parkdale and Sherwood now face these problems. These matters have caused considerable controversy in recent years. An example is an extract from the Evening Patriot newspaper:

Recent discussions in the Villages of Parkdale and Sherwood regarding changing their status to that of towns has sparked renewed thought of creating a metropolitan area in one municipal body. Primarily concerned would be Charlottetown, Parkdale, Sherwood and the Royalties. The principle reason for a renewal of interest is the belief that Provincial government long-range plans under the Economic Development Plan would have to look at the area as one unit due to many considerations. Among the most important of these would be educational, traffic, and recreational problems with the matter of pollution control paramount in the thinking at present. The latter would present what might be extreme difficulties if it had to be done on a piecemeal basis with treatment plants scattered with the attendant unnaturally high cost.¹

The four school districts have similar problems also. This is quite apparent by the community organizations that each have formed. They are either equivalent to, or called "Community Improvement Committees." These committees have been formed by residents to deal with problems including pollution, sewage, needed services such as fire protection, garbage collection, and street lights.

When approaching the greater Charlottetown urban area by road or air, it would be difficult to see the city, the villages, and the

¹Ralph Cameron, "Village Moves Spark a New Proposal for Metro Area," in the Evening Patriot, November 18, 1969.

school districts as separate entities.¹ Highways run through each of the jurisdictions to the central business district of Charlottetown. The involvement of separate jurisdictions in servicing the highways is one example of the lack of planning and proper land use that has plagued the development of the entire area.

Another example of the problems faced in the urban area was that of urban renewal. A consulting firm which examined the problem stated that "any meaningful program must embrace the entire greater Charlottetown area including not only the City but Parkdale, Sherwood, East and West Royalty, Bunbury, and Southport."² These problems have essentially been the result of the inability of the urban area to plan constructively for its growth. Since the area is the focal point of most Island activities, it urgently needs coordinated development. The present fragmentation is expensive.

During the summer months when tourism peaks, streets in the business district are congested and the main arteries are generally heavy with traffic to the beaches and other tourist attractions. Agriculture and fishing keep the Island busy in spring and fall, following harvest patterns, but in the winter months activities tend to slow down considerably.

The urban area enjoys most amenities common to other Canadian

¹See Figure 1, The Greater Charlottetown Urban Area.

²Proctor, Redfern, Bousfield and Bacon, Urban Renewal Study: Greater Charlottetown Area, 1968.



Greater Charlottetown Urban Area - Street Map

urban centers. It has two daily newspapers, one radio and one television station, two large hospitals, a considerable number of schools, exhibition facilities, sports facilities, a museum and an art gallery. People of the area take special pride in their live productions of "Anne of Green Gables" and Jane Eyre." The two plays are very popular with both residents and tourists. They play to full houses nearly every day of the season.

Chapter 3

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON COMMUNITY POWER

This chapter is intended to serve several functions. First, it will lead to the development of a conceptual framework (see Chapter 4) which will facilitate the analysis of findings. Secondly, it will help determine the theoretical and empirical work that has previously evolved in the area of community power. Thirdly, it will further identify the problem that this study is concerned with.

The concepts of power, and community power, have evolved through years of theoretical development and empirical observation. When Aristotle¹ wrote on social class and stratification he implied that differences existed in society such that some men rule and others are ruled. Some theorists, including Plato² accepted a division among citizens according to their abilities and inequalities. According to Plato, the leaders governed the state and held absolute power over administration. The slaves, soldiers, and laborers made up the other major classes according to their abilities. In any event, Plato's leaders were the men who held power. Plato was convinced that

¹M. L. Reichler, Community Power Structure in Action (University of Michigan: University Press, Ph.D., 1963), p. 6.

²A. E. Taylor, Plato: The Man and His Work (New York: Meridian Books, 1956).

individuals are physically, morally, and intellectually different.

Plato socially differentiates men.

Pareto¹ also envisaged a strong social elite. He suggests that each individual occupies a determined position in the social pyramid. If one were to arrange individuals according to their degree of influence and political power, then in most societies, those people highest in influence and political power would also be those with the greatest wealth. Pareto forecast that there would always be a ruling class and he divided this class into two elites. The first he called a governing elite, composed of individuals who directly or indirectly perform important roles in directing political power. The second elite Pareto called the non-governing elite. These were men not directly in powerful positions, but held indirect influence. These two divisions within the ruling class have many recurrences in contemporary studies of community power.

Mosca² discussed the organized minority versus the unorganized minority. To Mosca, social structure analysis distinguished those who rule and those who are ruled. The minority were the rulers because of their organization and their advantages of rapid intra-communication, familiarity among members, solidarity, and the resulting ability to act together more rapidly and efficiently. According to Mosca, this ruling

¹R. Bendix and S. Lipset, Class, Status, and Party (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 204.

²J. H. Meisel, Pareto and Mosca (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965).

class possessed two strata. "The first stratum is very small, the second much more extensive and deeper reaching."¹ The second stratum appears to be a buffer zone for the elite of the ruling class and a means through which the masses can become participatory.

Karl Marx divided society into two classes of people---the proletariat, and the bourgeoisie. Power, according to Marx, was attributed to material possessions and his theory of economic dominance was a significant departure from the traditional studies of political power.

When Max Weber wrote Class, Status and Party, his distinctions provided conceptual tools for analysing dominant groups.² Weber's first measure of elitism was one involving class. He divided society into owner and non-owner classes. The owner class was then split into owners of property (rentiers), and owners of services (entrepreneurs). The second distinction Weber made was on the basis of "status." Status was closely associated with honor and life style. Whereas class related to the production and acquisition of goods, status related more to the principles of consumption. Party, Weber's third distinction, relates to goal directed political action. Parties differ according to class and status. Thus aspects of power have many perspectives.

¹ Gaetano Mosca, The Ruling Class, translation by D. Kahn (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), p. 410.

² Max Weber, "Class, Status, and Party," in From Max Weber, eds. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills (New York: Oxford Galaxy, 1958).

Raymond Aron, a contemporary theorist relates elites and social class. He compares elites to essential social functions in the larger society. To Aron, elites are the political leaders, government administrators, economic directors, leaders of the masses and military chiefs.

One of the first attempts to understand in depth the culture of an American community and how that culture shapes the lives of its people was by Robert and Helen Lynd. They studied the city of Muncie, Indiana, or "Middletown"¹ which was later re-studied as Middletown in Transition.² Robert and Helen Lynd found in their studies, which appeared in 1929 and 1937, that life in the community was controlled by a small business elite which in turn was dominated by one family. The extent to which "X family" exercised and maintained influence is evident.

If I'm out of work I go to the X plant; if I need money I go to the X bank and if they don't like me I don't get it; my children go to the X college; when I get sick I go to the X hospital; I buy a building lot or house in an X subdivision; my wife goes downtown to buy clothes at the X department store; if my dog stays away he is put in the X pound; I buy X milk; I drink X beer; vote for X political parties; and get help from X charities; my boy goes to the X Y.M.C.A. and my girl to their Y.W.C.A.; I listen to the word of God in X subsidized churches; if I'm a Mason I go to the X Masonic Temple; I read the news from the X morning newspaper; and if I am rich enough I travel via the X airport.³

¹ R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, Middletown (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1929).

² R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, Middletown in Transition (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World Inc., 1937).

³ Comment by a Middletown man, Middletown in Transition.

Community studies that have followed the lynds' Middletown indicate a more widely dispersed type of power. Floyd Hunter found that "Regional City" (Atlanta, Georgia), was controlled by a small, relatively cohesive, economic elite.¹ The study's title, Community Power Structure, has become a common term and perhaps influenced perceptions of how communities are "run."

Hunter felt that the men his research identified came within the range of the center of power in the community. Hunter began his study by securing lists of leading civic, professional, and fraternal organizations, government personnel, business leaders, and 'society' and 'wealth' personnel. The 175 persons suggested were then rated by judges who selected mutually the top forty persons in the listings. The judges were selected by Hunter. They included business executives and professional people of different religions, both Negro and white.

The top forty persons were then studied and investigated further. Twenty-seven of the forty were asked to choose ten top leaders from the list. This step structured the forty men on the basis of votes received. Hunter emphasized his belief that a single pyramid of power did not exist, and rather that pyramids of power seemed more appropriate.

¹ Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

When Arthur Vidich and Joseph Bensman studied a small town in mass society they found that the town was dominated by a limited elite whose values were quite congruent.

The interlocking, duplication and overlapping of leadership roles tend to channel community policy into relatively few hands, and it results, at the level of the personalities of the leaders, in some degree of community coordination. That is, a wide range of community activities are coordinated simply because a small number of individuals are engaged in a wide range of leadership positions.¹

Early studies of community power such as the three just mentioned had many similarities. Their methodologies were similar and generally concluded that community decisions were either directly or indirectly dominated by an elite. Hunter's study appeared to inspire many new studies especially by political scientists including, among others, Robert Dahl, Nelson Polsby, and Raymond Wolfinger. These men postulated that there are usually multiple centers of power, that power is usually pluralistic, and that the power of leaders is limited by other leaders, and those whom they lead.

There has been, somewhat unfortunately, a tendency to dichotomize elitist and pluralist models of community power, even though there are no well defined boundaries. One of the most obvious tendencies is for sociologists to follow the elitist models, and for political scientists to adopt the pluralist alternative.

Robert Dahl's book, Who Governs, gave substance to early pluralist stands.² He studied influence of incumbents in city office,

¹A. J. Vidich and J. Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958), p. 258.

²Robert Dahl, Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

participation of people in local affairs, issue areas in which particular people are most influential, and patterns of voting. His argument is that several groups vie for control of community resources, and that this results in a pluralistic structure of power. Dahl looked at three main issue areas: political nominations, public education and urban redevelopment. Through analysis of these events, Dahl determined which community people were involved in formal decision-making. Unlike Hunter and his supporters, Dahl indicated that business people had limited influence on the policies of city officials.

Nelson Polsby has proposed that "a satisfactory study of community leadership must involve a detailed examination of the whole decision-making process as it is exhibited over a range of issues."¹ Polsby severely criticized the panel technique of identifying leaders, and substituted a two-step process in which leadership pools were constructed and then pared down by studying issues and activities in specific policy areas. Polsby found a slight overlap among the economic, status, and power elites.

Another pluralist supporter, Raymond Wolfinger even wrote the article, "A Plea for a Decent Burial,"² which discredited the elitist supporters. These and other articles have a considerable amount to offer. There is no doubt that issue analysis is important in determining

¹L. C. Freman, T. J. Fararo, J. Bloomberg, and M. H. Sunshine, "Locating Leaders in Local Communities," American Sociological Review, 28 (October, 1963), p. 792.

²R. E. Wolfinger, "A Plea for a Decent Burial," American Sociological Review, 27 (December, 1962), p. 147.

a community's influential leaders.

This thesis supports the view that the findings of the elitists and the pluralists are complementary.

This examination of power as it has evolved, shows that power has been identified with prestige, status, culture, dominance, wealth, influence and other terms. For the purposes of this study it becomes important to sharpen this focus as it relates to the local community. The conceptualizations existing in the literature now need closer examination in order to apply them to our particular problems.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER

As has been mentioned, power is often studied in the context of politics. Max Weber, however, was influential in advancing the sociological analysis of power. He defined it as "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action."¹ To Weber, power was vested primarily in legitimate authority. Thus, the ability to realize one's authority was dependent on office held in the system, primarily legal, traditional, and charismatic. Weber described authority as being granted by the social system and vested in position within the system rather than in the individual within the system.

Max Weber also spoke of conditions of power external to that

¹Weber, op. cit., p. 180.

included in authority. Possession of material goods would reflect economic power. Honor and prestige conditioned power in Weber's schema although he never emphasized them. In the ideal type of bureaucracy that Weber talked about, all power was vested in authority and official positions. When we compare the real world to Weber's ideal one, power emerges as something combining authority as well as other elements. This capacity for some to rule over others appears to be a phenomenon which exists everywhere in social relations among men. The validity of this assumption is crucial to this study.

Charles Loomis has a short and precise definition of power which is very applicable here. He defines it as "the capacity to control others."¹ Loomis further describes power with two major components: authoritative and non-authoritative. Much as Weber described the authoritative element of power, Loomis describes authority as the right to control others by given members of the system. Authority resides in the office held and finishes when the office ceases to exist. The non-authoritative component of power is broken down into two distinct types: voluntary influence, and unlegitimized coercion. Either type can be asserted by individuals or groups. The latter "implies either physical or mental control, or both. It is involved when one originates action and another actor responds or obeys unwillingly."² The former, voluntary influence, has been defined as follows:

¹Charles Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 20.

²ibid.

Voluntary influence is control over others which is not built into the authority component of the status role but results from the willingness of the subordinate to become involved by the superordinate. The capacity to influence may reside in the individual actor and his facilities but does not reside in his role. Influence may be based on such factors as skill in manipulating people, social capital resting on past favors, superior knowledge of a social system, wealth, reputation, or certain understanding qualities.¹

A student of Charles Loomis', Ronald Powers, has also written extensively on the element of power in social contexts. In his examinations, Powers agrees with other authors, that the power an individual holds is often due to the authority he holds. "Authority is the right to control others, . . . is determined by the members, and is the same no matter who holds the office, unless changed by the members."² The other major component of power Powers deals with is influence.

Influence is that part of a person's power attributable to his control of, or access to, resources relevant to the proposed social action. Influence resides in the individual on the basis of his own facilities or abilities. It may be due to such factors as skill in guiding and directing people, reciprocal obligation, specialized knowledge, reputation, wealth, and control of, or access to resources such as credit or jobs.³

These types of power are exercised daily in social interaction.

Scholars have observed that economic, social, and political power generally rest in the hands of a select few. This type of finding may appear to fall short of the ideal type of democracy, but yet it is widely accepted. That key decisions in the community are dominated

¹Ibid., p. 21.

²Ronald Powers, Identifying the Community Power Structure (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, Cooperative Extension Service, 1965).

³Ibid.

by a fairly autonomous few whose interests are largely cohesive is another way of describing community power.

Chapter 4

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Power, the major phenomenon under study, is highly related to the two concepts 'social systems' and 'social action'.

The analysis of the evolution of community power studies in Chapter 3 has possibly suggested the need for a conceptual framework in which to study power in the local community. This chapter will thus define a theoretical setting for the study.

Although it is difficult to determine when and how the term 'Social System' was first used as a sociological concept, it has been studied by several authors. These authors agree that the dynamics of social processes account for the emergence, maintenance, and change of social systems.

A social system is composed of patterned interaction of its members. It is constituted through frequent and intense relations of individual members, within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects. Interaction can be the direct, face-to-face personal contact of two actors, or the indirect, enormously interlinked, impersonal interaction of a society. Whatever system one is analysing, whether it be the master system (society) or any of its component sub-systems, the elements that compose it as a social system and the processes that articulate it remain the same.

Loomis and Beagle have presented a good working definition of a social system. They describe a social system as "composed of persons who interact more with members than non-members when operating to obtain their objectives."¹ As a significant unit of social systems, the definition of Pitirim A. Sorokin seems applicable. Sorokin defines a social system as a "meaningful interaction of two or more human individuals. . . by which one part tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other."²

George Homans has suggested that social systems analysis is valuable for community studies.³ Homans describes a social system as existing within a three-part environment: a physical environment (terrain, climate, and layout), a cultural environment (norms, values and goals of society), and a technological environment which indicates the state of knowledge and instrumentation available to the system for the performance of its task. These environments specify certain activities and interactions that take place in the system.

Irwin T. Sanders has dealt with the subject of social systems in his book, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System.⁴

¹C. Loomis, and R. Beagle, Rural Social Systems (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1961), p. 5.

²Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947), p. 40.

³Edgar Schien, Organizational Psychology (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 91.

⁴Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System (The Ronald Press Company, 1958).

His book deals with the setting and the components of the social system. The setting refers to the geographical location of any particular community together with its ecology, communication facilities, psychological identification, and demography, which is related to production and skills, culture, and personality.

The components of the community which Sanders envisages form patterns of interaction in the social system. The basic component is the person, while the total community represents the largest component. In-between components include basic social relationships of groups or categories of people, sub-systems, or wide-spread social networks such as political parties, and major systems such as government.

Since this study was done in a community it is important to examine the existing inter-relationships. The components of the community as a social system will describe the parts which establish patterns of interaction. The operations of the components will depend on the processes within the system.

Irwin T. Sanders describes the processes as descriptive of three main features: goals of interaction, social change, and social control.¹ The processes descriptive of the types of goals in interaction include:

Conflict	Competition
Accommodation	Cooperation
Assimilation	Amalgamation

¹Ibid., p. 191.

Processes descriptive of social change include:

Regimentation	Industrialization
Mechanization	Commercialization
Urbanization	Secularization

Processes descriptive of social control include:

Socialization	Persuasion
Suggestion	Coercion

The operations of the community as a social system are outlined in Table 2, adopted from Sanders.

For the most part, the setting, components, and operations of the social system described by Sanders are also well defined by Loomis. It is Loomis' model that will be used in the following analysis.

Social systems serve as the arena in which social action is performed. According to Loomis:

A social system consists of the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented through the definition and mediation of a pattern of structured and shared symbols and expectations.¹

The social system conditions social action by defining the relevant territory, its size, and the time elements involved. Then, within the social system major processes are carried on. They include: communication; or the process by which information, decisions, and directives pass through the system, 2) boundary maintenance; which

¹ G. M. Beal, R. C. Blount, R. C. Powers, and W. J. Johnson, Social Action and Interaction (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1966), p. 64.

Table 2

The Community as a Social System

Setting and Components					
Community system (Reference is made to communal properties of these major systems)					
	Economy	Religion	Government	Family	Education
Major system (Institutionalized unit meeting basic human needs)	Economy	Religion	Government	Family	Education
Subsystem (widespread social network)	Transportation Banking, Indus- try, Commerce Agriculture Medicine, Organ- ized labor	Political party Bureaucracy Police, etc.	Various religious bodies	School Press, Radio & TV	The power structure
Social Grouping (Categories of people with common characteristics)	Parents with pre-school children	Cotton-growing farmers Homeowners	Church-goers	University graduates	The upper class
Social Group (3 or more people in social contact)	The household	A hospital staff A construction crew Members of law firm	Local league of women voters	Members of adult education course	A country club
Social Relationships (2 people or units in social contact)	Parent-child	Merchant-consumer	Official-citizen	Clergyman-member	2 members of elite
The Person (as a type)	Parent	Consumer	Citizen	Teacher	Member of elite

outlines the solidarity, identity, or interaction of programs, 3) systemic linkage; which analyses the elements of at least two social systems which come to function together, 4) institutionalization; which is a process by which human behavior is made predictable and patterned, 5) socialization; the process whereby cultural heritage is transmitted, and 6) social control; which is a process to counteract deviation.

Social systems, according to Loomis, also have certain specific elements which include the following:

1. ends or objectives - indicate the changes expected
2. facilities - indicate the means used to meet ends or objectives
3. status-roles - indicate the facts which are to be expected from incumbents in any status-roles
4. rank - indicates the value the actor has for the system in which the rank is accorded
5. sanctions - indicate the rewards or penalties used to obtain conformity
6. power - indicates the capacity to control others which has two further elements: authority and influence
7. beliefs - indicate properties about the universe thought to be true
8. norms - indicate rules of acceptability
9. sentiments - indicate feelings about phenomena

SOCIAL ACTION

Talcott Parsons defines power as "the capacity of a system unit to actualize its interests. . . within the context of system interaction and in this sense to exert influence on the processes in the system."¹ These processes which Parsons mentions can be constructive if there is appropriate organization. This organization function is one that change agents have attempted to deal with for many years. Their hopes and aspirations for logical and constructive development have led to the creation of a social action process.

Social action has been applied to various processes and programs which individuals, groups, communities, governments, and others, become involved in. George Beal defines it as "a purposive pattern of choice making, goal-directed, collective behavior."² Beal's definition is inclusive of many others which had their beginnings about 1950. At that time various authors began to prepare social action models. Most of these models have three major dimensions: the actors, the social systems and stages of social action. Actors include all people involved in social action programs. The extent of their involvement varies from major policy formation roles to a more passive acceptance of the process. The type of involvement of the actors depends largely on the social system in which the social action is carried out.

¹Talcott Parsons, "The Distribution of Power in American Society," World Politics, X (October, 1957), pp. 123-143.

²Beal, et al., op. cit., p. 53.

Edward Lindeman was among the first to derive a model of social action prior to 1950.¹ His model incorporated ten major steps through time. In 1950, Irwin Sanders developed a more simplified model with five stages or time elements. It was as follows:

1. An idea takes root.
2. Relevant facts are obtained.
3. Plan an action program with use of facts.
4. Launch and move the program ahead.
5. Continually take your bearings.

In 1953, Paul Miller advocated a slightly different four-stage model. Miller started with a prior social situation, then the initiation of action, the organization of sponsorship, and the use of community organization methods to mobilize resources.

These early models of social action were incorporated into a larger social action model by Beal and Bohlen, which came out in 1956.² It has advantages for this study.

The stages of social action consist of the sequences of development through time. In most cases social action has been measured by basic decision-making models. Their model illustrated a more detailed construct of social action which was used in the "National Project in Agricultural Communication Workshops in Communication."³ This model has several advantages for a construct of social action: 1) it

¹Ibid. ²Ibid.

³George Beal, "How Does Social Change Occur?", Beal, et al. op. cit., Appendix III.

includes most stages used by others, 2) it segments more stages, 3) there have been attempts made to operationalize the stages, 4) it has been used as a model in numerous projects, and 5) it has been used as a model in field studies. In brief, the model seems to be quite functional. Other models have followed and none can be regarded as final, but they are useful in programs.

The following construct (Figure 2) is similar to that of George Beal's 1956 model and also draws from a model prepared by Stewart Case and Carl Hoffman for the Colorado Extension Service, 1967.¹ Some steps are slightly altered; they are not boxed off, and indicate more continuity of action.

Analysis of the above model is summarized under the following major headings of social action:

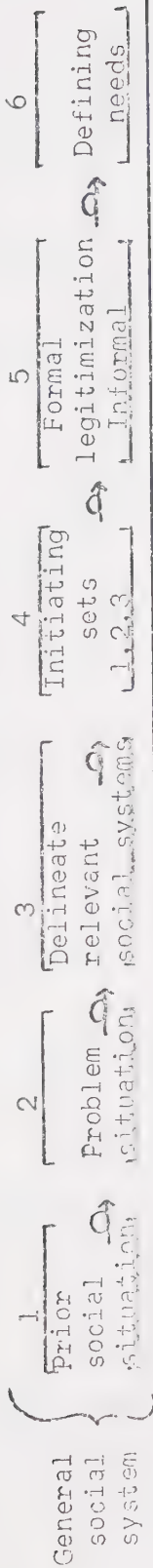
Social system boundary. This gives attention to the major geographical area within the general social system where most of the action occurs.

Prior social situation. Attention is given here to methods, techniques, appeals, and organizational structures that had been used in program planning in the past in order to gain insights in planning and carrying out the next action steps.

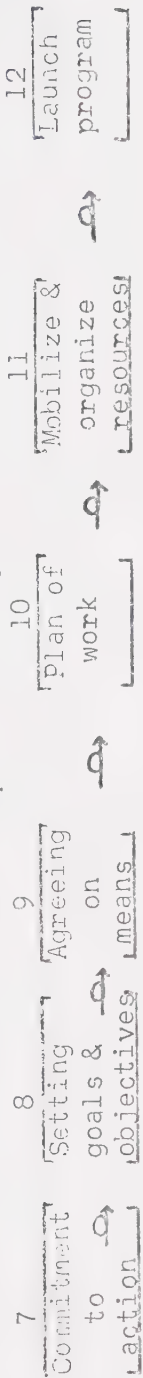
Problem situation. A group of people agree that some sort of problem exists and that something should be done about it. This feeling is quite often surfaced by people external to the system such as

¹S. Case and C. Hoffman, Springboards to Community Action (Fort Collins: Colorado State University Extension Service, April, 1967).

Social System Boundary



Social System Boundary



arrows stand for evaluation, decision, planning, and action.

Social System Boundary



Figure 2

Social System Boundary

government, but generally represents internal interests.

Delineation of relevant social systems. This deals with setting up a criteria of relevancy to use in the delineation of relevant groups. Individuals and groups are chosen in terms of the relevant social system that can serve the program.

Initiating sets. These are generally development workers until steering committees are formed. They initiate action on the program.

Legitimation with key leaders. This consists of making plans and securing legitimation from the social systems' formal and informal leaders.

Diffusion sets. Once the program is legitimized, diffusion sets take the program to the public. They are the salesmen or the 'action leaders' who sell the idea to the public.

Definition of need. At this point an attempt is made to have the public define the need as one of their own which provides for public participation and involvement.

Commitment to action. This gives the community a direct feeling of responsibility and involves it in the action.

Setting goals and objectives. These goals should be fully understood by those presenting them, be well presented, allow for feedback, and lead to formalized acceptance.

Agreeing on means. This usually indicates that there has been a high degree of consensus among members of the action committee and other groups involved.

Plan of work. This includes specifying means, actions, people to be involved, time, and expectations of the group, set down in a

formal work plan.

Mobilizing resources. Resources include time, subject matter specialists, money, and background information necessary to carry out the action steps.

Launching. This is an important occasion; it might be commemorated by a community dinner or appropriate newspaper coverage, et cetera.

Action steps. Here the project begins to move towards goals in positive constructive stages.

Total program evaluation. Here evaluation is made of methods, resources, accomplishments, failures, alternatives, and experiences.

Continuation. This indicates the continued process which results from evaluation.

With this type of social action model, divisions are somewhat arbitrary and cannot always be observed in strict sequences. As well, all action programs do not originate in the above manner and do not always pass through all the stages. Although these limitations exist it is obvious that those who engage in social action approach their tasks with some guidelines with definite action stages. The following example will illustrate some of these aspects.

CHARLOTTETOWN

In this case, the general social system is the greater Charlottetown urban area. It is composed of seven major social systems including the City of Charlottetown, the villages of Parkdale and Sherwood, and the smaller jurisdictions of Southport, Bunbury, East

Royalty, and West Royalty. It is virtually impossible to distinguish between the communities visually. The urban area (general social system) all runs together into the central City of Charlottetown.

The territorially organized system is a product of geographical and human influences on settlement patterns. The central or core city nearly two hundred years ago was a geographical seaport and harbour. At that time, to plan for growth and development, the city placed limitations on itself by its boundaries. As it grew, there was great desire by people to have their own homes at low costs. Because of generally limited incomes people sought land outside the city boundaries which was sparsely populated. These homeowners who built in Spring Park (since amalgamated with the city), Parkdale, and Sherwood, often started with a building which could be later used as their garage or barn, and winterized it for living until they could complete their homes.

Eventually these communities spread out across the Hillsborough River to the jurisdictions of Bunbury and Southport. As well, the jurisdictions of East Royalty and West Royalty grew up with much the same characteristics. Thus, the territory was initially delineated following the lay of the land and human influence.

The patterning of relationships between the individuals in the social systems comprise the important systemic attributes which follow.

The master processes in the greater Charlottetown community have importance in defining the relevant social system. Communications in the area range from the simple to the highly complex. For example,

mass media plays a major role. Two daily newspapers reach the greatest part of the population and are complemented by a local radio and television station. Thus, news events of major importance reach the population relatively fast. The more informal methods of verbal conversation for passing on information also appear to be highly operative. This is probably due to the fact that large numbers of business, social, and other organizations have their own means of internal communication.

Boundary maintenance has provided some internal control in the urban area. Since the area is a commercial center for agriculture, fishing, and tourism, there are many extensions made into the rural areas, and these limit the extent of boundary maintenance. As well, many residents have summer cottages outside the urban area. However, these aspects are heavily outweighed by maintenance devices such as city limits and town limits. Also important is the extension of services to residents which include water, sewer, telephone service, street paving, and so on.

With regard to systemic linkage, the urban area has many links with external systems which have considerable impact on life within the urban area.

The community provides a framework for socialization. It provides friendship groups, families, and an array of institutions which determine the behavior of the actors.

The following elements influence social interaction: beliefs, feelings, ends and objectives, facilities, norms, status roles, rank, sanctions and power. These elements with the possible exception of

facilities, are not, it is submitted, significantly different from those operative in other Maritime centers. Facilities are somewhat restricted because of the Island's severance from the mainland.

Referring now to our social action model (Figure 2, page 35) problems were realized internally and externally. Internally, citizens knew that the area was plagued by years of local government indecision. The community was stagnant and deeply in debt. The problem was perceived by external forces such as the provincial and federal governments since they pay the bills.

Studies of the prior social situation indicate how many of the problems arose. In past years people moved outside the limits of Charlottetown for a variety of reasons but did not go very far away because the interior was undeveloped. Eventually the populations on the outskirts were incorporated as separate villages. They began to provide their own police and fire protection, sewer and water, and other essential services. The result was that the whole area became unwieldy for development and taxation purposes.

In 1950 steps were taken towards amalgamation by the Charlottetown Board of Trade. It brought representatives together from the jurisdictions, and after seven years of negotiations the community of Spring Park was amalgamated with Charlottetown in 1957. The other jurisdictions have, however, continued to provide separate services for their people.

Proposals for a new approach were put forward in 1969 by the Public Participation Sector of the Prince Edward Island Department of

Development. This was a special provincial government department created to carry out a fifteen-year Development Plan. They set up criteria of relevancy for use in forming functional groups. This was done by examining the areas' problems, prior social situations, formal leaders (elected representatives), and informal leaders to legitimize the province's Development Plan.

The initiating sets were: 1) Public Participation Sector personnel, and 2) elected representatives of the seven jurisdictions of the Greater Charlottetown urban area. They initiated action in joint meetings which recognized a need for local people to work together. After several meetings it was recommended that an Advisory Committee of the informal leaders in the area be established. This proposal was accepted by the formal leaders. Then, the informal leaders were identified using the method described in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

How does one locate persons of power in the context of the general social system or community? What methods are available to provide a guide for testing the propositions that have been formulated? These questions are asked by analysts when selecting an approach to study community power.

There are at least five major methodological approaches to the study of community power. They include various forms of the reputational approach, the positional approach, and the observed behavior methods. The positional approach "utilizes offices and other positions of power in community institutions and organizations as an index of power."² It begins with the identification of the leading civic, political, and economic organizations in the social system. Then persons are ranked according to the number and types of associations they have in such organizations.³

¹W. Bell, R. J. Hill, and C. R. Wright, Public Leadership (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1961), pp. 5-33.

²Carol Estes Thometz, The Decision-Makers: The Power Structure (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), p. 16.

³See also, R. O. Schulze and L. U. Blumberg, "The Determination of Local Power Elites," American Journal of Sociology, LXIII:3 (November, 1957), pp. 290-96.

The observed behavior method has considerable support among political scientists and people in government generally. It attempts to examine specific community issues with respect to the persons and actions involved in solving the issues. Major community issues such as school questions, urban renewal, pollution, and political nominations are used. Then, the researcher attempts to observe what is decided, when, how, and by whom. Proponents of the approach claim that it is based on behavior, and not on opinionated responses by community people.¹ One of the major problems with this approach is that one has to be present as a researcher when decisions are actually made, and to understand the forces that brought about the decision.

The reputational approach, discussed earlier, is as follows: the researcher locates a number of persons who know their community well because of long-term residence, affiliations with community organizations, and so on. Following the procedure used in the classic book by Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure, community knowledgeable nominate and then rank persons in the community who have a reputation for influence and power. Hunter began by obtaining 175 names of persons in Regional City from its leading civic, social, economic, and political organizations. He then used judges to narrow the list to forty men. Then, with the forty men as objects of the study, the judges were asked, "If a project were before the community that required decision by a group of leaders--leaders that nearly

¹See, Nelson Polsby, "How to Study Community Power, The Pluralist Alternative," Journal of Politics, 22 (August, 1960), pp. 474-84.

everyone should accept--which ten on the list would you choose?"¹

In that way, Hunter and his followers purported to have identified the most powerful men in the community.

The positional approach really only identifies persons "who have potential for power."² But, the evidence supporting the fact that those who have potential for power actually have the most power in the community are weak. Analysis of behavior in issue areas or events is very time-consuming and "assumes that the power-actors visibly do something. . .they may or may not take visible actions."³ The classical reputational approach of Floyd Hunter assumes that his list of persons from civic, social, economic, and political organizations is all inclusive. Perhaps it is not. While there is obviously overlap between all three approaches they may supplement rather than replace each other.

This study uses an adaptation of the reputational approach which was introduced by Ronald Powers. The people identified are reputed to have power by other community members. Powers refers to his approach as the reputational technique. He suggests that "as a workable instrument for the change agent who wishes to identify the power actors in a community, the reputational technique can be used by itself."³

¹Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision-Makers (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1953), p. 62.

²R. C. Powers, Identifying the Community Power Structure (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, 1965), p. 8.

³Ibid.

Powers follows six major steps in the reputational technique.

They are designed to:

1. Define the geographical area.
2. Define issue areas.
3. Select knowledgeable.
4. Interview knowledgeable.
5. Summarize.
6. Check reliability.

The first step in the identification of persons with power is to delineate the relevant geographical area. This is the area in which the majority of the issues will be solved. In most cases this is a community and its surrounding rural area. The rural area that is delineated along with the community is determined by the day-to-day trade area. The cut-off line would probably fall about where farm people begin to go to another trade center instead of to the trade area under study.

A larger geographical area might have a more diverse power structure than a small centralized area, especially if it includes several recognizable communities.

Defining major issue areas will depend upon what issues are of current concern. Such issues can include education, urban renewal, political nominations, and so on. The researcher may be concerned also with gaining information about those persons perceived as having power in general community affairs. Thus, information can be sought on specific issues, as well as on general community affairs.

Selecting the knowledgeable is done once the issue areas have been identified. At this point a number of knowledgeable are interviewed and asked to identify the power actors in the relevant areas in the community.

Powers suggests that the number of knowledgeable to be interviewed should depend on the size of the community. This is indicated in Table 3.

Table 3
Interviewing the Community Knowledgeables

Size of Community	Number of Knowledgeables to Interview
250 - 1,000	5
1,001 - 2,500	7
2,501 - 5,000	8
5,001 - 10,000	10
10,001 -100,000	15

Source: Ronald Powers, Identifying the Community Power Structure (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University, 1965), p. 9.

Powers suggests that after the suggested number of interviews, persons named as power actors will have been duplicated several times. If not, it would be necessary to interview more knowledgeable.

Interviewing the knowledgeable is a very important stage. In the Greater Charlottetown urban area, a random sample of 42 were approached when accessible, and asked a number of questions. When approaching the

knowledgeables, the researcher identified himself, defined his objective, clarified the reasons for wanting the information, and informed the respondent how the information would be used.

A logical rationale for seeking the information can be built around the notion that community action depends upon the role of key leaders and that knowledge of leadership patterns, formal and informal, is important to the task of initiating a wide range of actions.¹

Confidentiality was assured from the beginning of the interview. Questions were formulated around the various issues of importance to the community, such as urban renewal, incentives for industry, and so on. When it came to general community affairs, the knowledgeables were questioned as to who the top community influentials were. By community influentials it was meant those that carry a lot of weight and have the potential to get things done. Influence, weight, and any other such words used were meant to express a sense of power.

Each respondent was asked to name from ten to fifteen key influentials. He was also asked if he considered himself (or herself) a key influential. A number of relevant issues were referred to when talking about those with power in the community. This prevented undue restriction of the responses given by knowledgeables. Many responses were recorded by brief notes taken on the spot, while others were noted mentally and recorded as soon as possible afterwards.

Once the knowledgeables had been interviewed, the names of reputed power actors were summarized. After forty-two knowledgeables were interviewed, a clear pattern emerged, with respect to the number

¹
Ibid., p. 9.

of times various individuals had been noted. Therefore, more interviews than mentioned in Table 3 were not considered necessary. If no clear pattern had emerged, more interviews would have been conducted.

After the power actors had been identified, it was necessary to check on the validity of the responses. This was done by approaching the identified power actors and asking them the same types of questions that were asked of the knowledgeable. From interviewing 23, a clear pattern again emerged, and interviewing was terminated. The sets of information largely agreed with each other, except for some differences in ranking.

Immediately before the selection of community knowledgeable to be questioned, it was necessary to examine issue areas involved. From analysis of available data concerning what appeared to be the common problems of the seven jurisdictions it was possible to provide common ground on which to approach the community knowledgeable. The urban area was essentially involved with the twelve following problems:

1. The rapid growth of the outlying jurisdictions.
2. The restriction of the population growth of the central city.
3. The lack of employment in the outlying jurisdictions.
4. The cost to the city of providing employment in the urban area.
5. The need for improved educational facilities in the urban area.
6. The need for more adequate sewage collection and disposal systems.
7. The need for better water systems serving industrial,

domestic, and fire fighting needs.

8. The need for improved fire fighting equipment in the area.
9. The need for improved police protection in the urban areas.
10. The need for improved planning and zoning in the urban areas.
11. The problem of financing the improvements required in the urban area.
12. The problem of the cost of efficient administration of the entire Charlottetown urban area.

While interviewing the community knowledgeable, many of these problems, and others related to them, were discussed. This was to prepare the knowledgeable to understand what type of persons the study was attempting to find. This enabled the respondent to provide information about those persons who were perceived as having power relevant to affairs of an important magnitude in the community.

The actual number of knowledgeable contacted in each area and classified as community knowledgeable is shown in Table 4. Following the recommendations of Table 3, 50 people were initially interviewed. Eight of these people were identified as power actors and later reclassified. As well, another fifteen power actors were subsequently interviewed. Thus, 65 people were interviewed; 42 were classified as knowledgeable and 23 as power actors. The data collected from power actors concurred closely with that given by the knowledgeable.

The people interviewed in the Greater Charlottetown urban area were contacted by telephone. The message relayed was that the Provincial Department of Development was carrying out the study of the urban area, in conjunction with the representative jurisdictions.

Table 4

Community Knowledgeables Contacted

Charlottetown	14
Parkdale	6
Sherwood	6
West Royalty	4
East Royalty	4
Bunbury	4
Southport	4
Total	42

The study was to determine the dimensions of the Greater Charlottetown urban area, and to determine the top influentials, leaders, and/or decision-makers in the community. The knowledgeable were requested to meet with us at times and places convenient to them. It was stressed that they could, in the interests of their community, provide very helpful information. In nearly all cases the persons contacted were ready and willing to help.

During the interviews, an attempt was first made to make the knowledgeable feel comfortable with the interviewer. In every case the first step was simply 'name introduction'. Then, the knowledgeable was encouraged to talk lightly on general topics. At this time each was informed of the confidential nature of the study and that no risk was involved in answering our questions.

The interviews followed four major stages:

1. Introduction.
2. Questions concerned with the delineation of the urban area.
3. Questions about past and present issues and present concerns.
4. The identification of power actors within the delineated area.

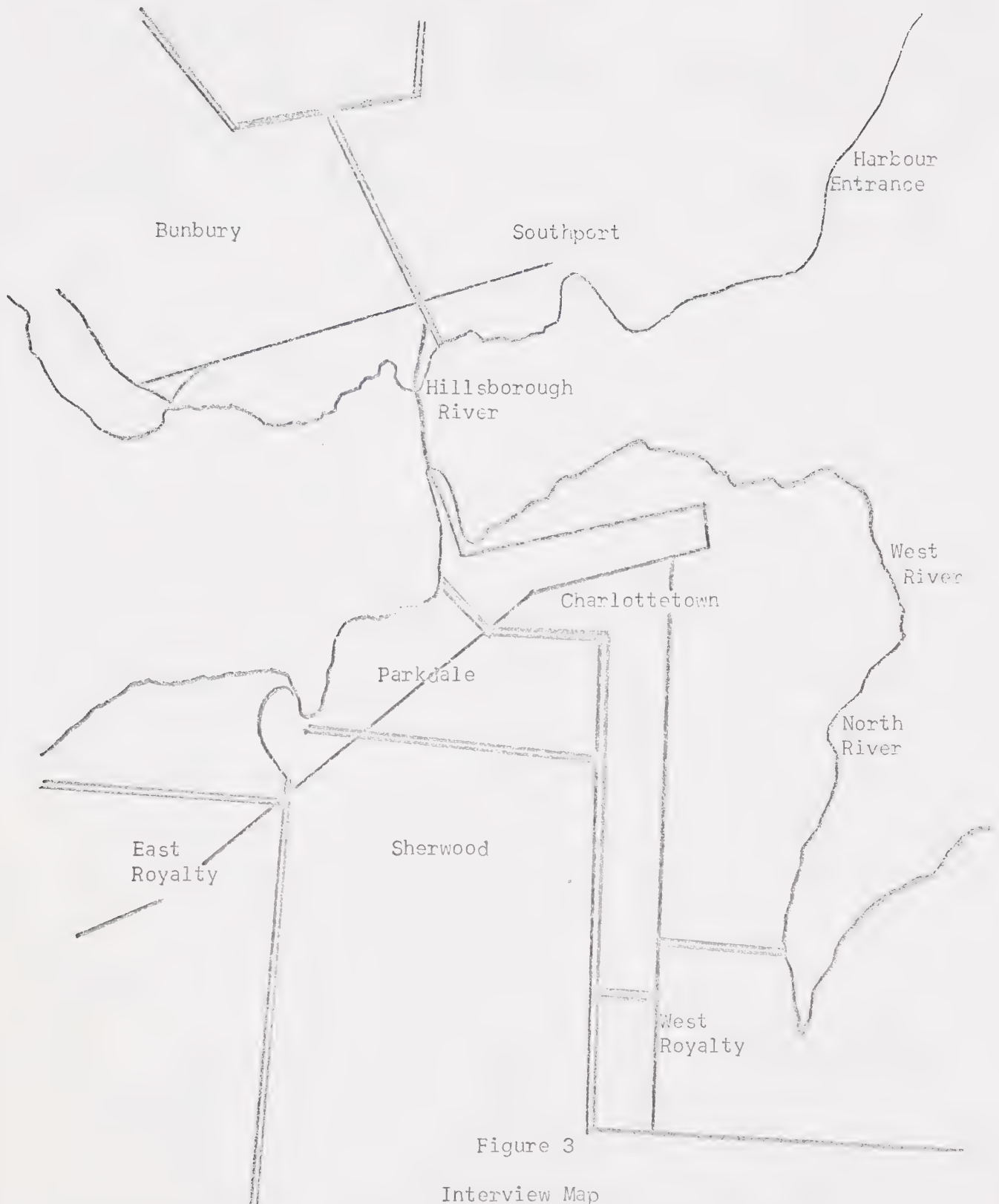
The respondents' answers were analysed separately. Thus we begin with delineation of the urban area.

DELINEATING THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

To delineate the urban area or relevant social system, the knowledgeable were told that if 'the area' in fact existed as a physical and social reality, it had to be recognized by the community, and treated as such. Then a map (see Figure 3) outlining the jurisdictions and a significant stretch of outlying rural area was introduced into the discussion. The knowledgeable was asked to indicate the relevant system, which he considered to be the best unit, or combination of units, for future socio-economic development.

The interviewing began in the jurisdiction of Southport. This jurisdiction is across the Hillsborough River from the major urban conglomeration.

Jurisdiction of Southport. The following responses indicate feelings toward delineation of the area. The first respondent felt that because of the situation of the Hillsborough River, the trend for development should be towards the growth of two independent jurisdictions. The jurisdictions, on each side of the River, would then be independent in providing such essential services as water supply and



Source: Economic Improvement Corporation Cartographer, Street Map and Guide (Charlottetown: 1969).

sewage disposal.

The second respondent indicated that he favored more independence for Southport. This would give the locally established Improvement Committee a greater say in plans for long-range development. At the same time, however, he felt that the seven jurisdictions in the immediate urban area should be considered as one unit for most developments.

The third respondent saw the need for the seven jurisdictions to come together as soon as possible. He felt that Southport would gain considerably in matters of concern such as street lighting, fire services, and others by the amalgamation of the jurisdictions. When asked when this might possibly be done, he replied, "The sooner the better!" He suggested that the amalgamated development unit should include rural areas but did not specify to what extent. The fourth respondent opposed considering the jurisdiction of Southport in any way that related it directly to the Greater Charlottetown urban area. He was in favour of the development of the community as a distinct entity and suggested that it would supply its own needs as time required. He pooled the five jurisdictions across the river together for development in the future.

Resume of responses for Southport. Two of the four knowledgeable contacted suggested that Southport should maintain its distinct identity for future development plans. They were opposed to amalgamation. One knowledgeable indicated that the seven communities should be recognized as one, for the best results where there were

common needs. Generally, he favoured Southport keeping its separate delineation. The third knowledgeable favoured amalgamation of the seven jurisdictions and some adjacent rural areas; how much to be decided by a feasibility study.

The results can be plotted on a continuum (see Figure 4) with independence for local jurisdiction at one extreme, and amalgamation of all seven jurisdictions at the other.



Figure 4

Knowledgeables' Opinions About Southport

It is evident that two knowledgeable in the jurisdiction favour high boundary maintenance. Two favour some systemic linkage (where the elements of at least two social systems come together to operate as one). Thus, there is not unanimity among the Southport knowledgeable as to their objectives.

Jurisdiction of Bunbury. Bunbury's geographical position is similar to that of Southport. It also borders the Hillsborough River and meets Southport along the Trans Canada Highway near the Hillsborough Bridge.

Respondent one was very concerned about future development. He stressed the fact that residents of Bunbury "use the goods and

services and travel in and out of Charlottetown at least twice a day." He was concerned about his area having adequate representation in an amalgamated urban development area but emphasized the need for such amalgamation. He suggested also that the total development unit would include some rural areas.

Respondent two was particularly interested in the amalgamation of Southport and Bunbury. He felt that together they could better combat existing problems especially those involving water and sewage. Likewise he was of the opinion that amalgamation of the five communities on the Charlottetown side of the Hillsborough River would have similar advantages.

The third knowledgeable thought that amalgamation should first include the Royalties, Parkdale, Sherwood, and Charlottetown, with Bunbury and Southport coming in at a later date. He considered that Bunbury at the present time had its own particular needs, especially where water and sewer were concerned, but he saw it as more feasible than a total amalgamation, for Bunbury and Southport to first come together on the joint major issues.

The fourth knowledgeable envisaged that delineation should include "at least the seven jurisdictions." He recognized that some of their problems were strictly local, but that most were of a general nature. Bunbury was talked about as a suburb, and he expressed the view that it should be part of the greater area even though it had been incorporated as a separate village. "If it was my choice to make, I would amalgamate the seven jurisdictions."

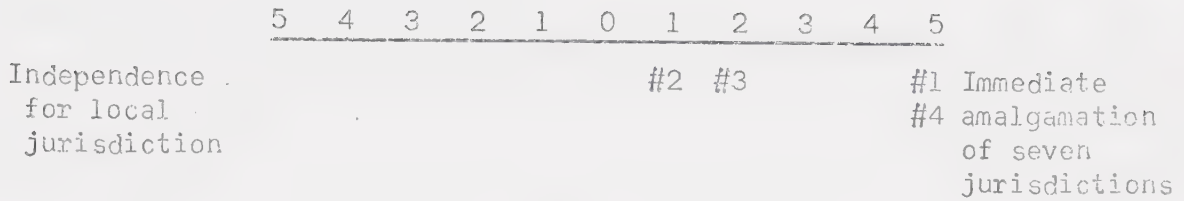


Figure 5

Knowledgeables' Opinions About Bunbury

If we plot information from these knowledgeable on a continuum a very different pattern emerges than that from the Southport knowledgeable. The desire for boundary maintenance is low. All respondents talked of linkages with the other systems. Their sentiments and ideals leaned heavily towards amalgamation of the seven jurisdictions, or at least with Southport as a first early step. Then future links could be made with the other five jurisdictions.

Jurisdiction of East Royalty. East Royalty is the most agricultural of the jurisdictions. It borders the village of Sherwood and the Hillsborough River. However, as one knowledgeable mentioned, "it is tentatively mapped for a sewer system, not really agricultural any longer." All the knowledgeable contacted had very definite views on the delineation of the area. The first one interviewed did not personally like amalgamation of the seven jurisdictions, but felt that it was necessary. He realized that future development required long term plans, and that these plans should be for the kind of urban totality that could result from growth over a period of the next twenty or so years. He suggested that a planning team should concern itself with recommendations for the extension of the urban jurisdiction into

the present agricultural areas.

The second knowledgeable was keen on centralization of services, which would be easier once the jurisdictions were brought together as one unit. He looked upon amalgamation of the seven jurisdictions as a pre-requisite to any further action toward the attainment of their joint needs.

The third felt that the community of East Royalty was "a long way from incorporating or other such moves due to the agricultural base." He did, however, expect that future development proposals should include East Royalty. The views of the fourth respondent were similar to those of the others. He felt that East Royalty should be a part of future socio-economic development of the urban area. The knowledgeable said, "It is necessary for the communities to work together in order to overcome the problems we face."

	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Independence for local jurisdiction							#3		#1	#4	#2	Immediate amalgamation of the seven jurisdictions

Figure 6

Knowledgeables' Opinions About East Royalty

Figure 6 illustrates the views of the East Royalty knowledgeable.

Jurisdiction of West Royalty. This jurisdiction borders North River, Charlottetown, Sherwood, and agricultural areas. Prior to our attempts to delineate the relevant geographical area for future development, the "West Royalty Committee for an Independent Community"

held a series of community meetings to determine their future as a separate community. At the time, four proposals were made by those attending. They were:

1. To do nothing.
2. To amalgamate with Charlottetown.
3. To amalgamate with Sherwood
4. To incorporate as a village.

In the words of an attendant at those meetings (the first respondent), "they moved, seconded, and carried, to do nothing." The findings of our personal interviews reflect some of this indecisiveness although needs were identified to a greater extent. The second respondent felt that West Royalty should be included in plans for the total urban area. He was fearful of being left out of the plans that were being pushed forward for the City of Charlottetown, and the Villages of Parkdale and Sherwood. If they were making any plans or taking steps for future development, he felt West Royalty and all of the other six jurisdictions should be included, as well as the jurisdiction of Cornwall which is east on the Trans Canada Highway.

The third respondent felt that West Royalty should amalgamate with the remainder of the jurisdictions to form one urban area. He spoke enthusiastically about a greater urban community and the need for unity.

The fourth respondent also recognized a need for amalgamation. He related this need to the lack of adequate police and fire protection, water and sewer services, and school. He felt that seven independent jurisdictions in the area were quite unnecessary and only made things

more difficult. The fourth respondent stressed the view that "it is only a matter of time until the need for services will require union of the metro area." In the meantime, he thought that incorporation as a village would be a logical step. He suggested that "a progression of events will lead to amalgamation of all the jurisdictions."

The continuum for West Royalty indicates that there is little or no feeling for boundary maintenance among the knowledgeables of West Royalty.

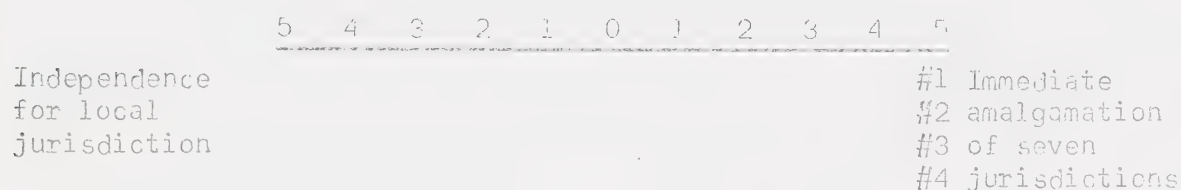


Figure 7

Knowledgeables' Opinions About West Royalty

~~Independence for local jurisdiction~~ The village of West Royalty is bounded by Charlottetown, Sherwood, and the Hillsborough River. In fact, there are no physical or geographic characteristics that mark it as a separate community. Residents, or knowledgeables, contacted generally recognized the community as part of the Greater Charlottetown urban area, and there was little question that it should be included as part of that area for future socio-economic development.

The village was perhaps in a unique relationship with Charlottetown, at least as far as long-term discussions about common problems and the need to work together were concerned. In 1957, when the Charlottetown Metropolitan Committee considered amalgamation "under

one administration" for Charlottetown, Parkdale, and Spring Park, the latter did amalgamate with the City soon after, but Parkdale opposed the proposal. The thirteen years following that decision appear to have altered the feelings of at least some knowledgeable.

The first knowledgeable was "very much in favour of amalgamation of the whole urban area. He extended the boundaries well into the country areas surrounding the Royalties. According to this respondent "the river is no problem, many successful cities have rivers through them." According to this respondent, Parkdale would have amalgamated with Charlottetown if the right tax concessions had been made at the time.

The second respondent had some reservations about including all seven jurisdictions in one entity for future development. He suggested that amalgamation of Parkdale and Charlottetown should proceed first, with equalization of the tax-load, and improvements in police, fire, sidewalks, traffic, and storm sewers. He then suggested that Sherwood might follow, but it "has much municipal work to do before they amalgamate with any other municipality." He did not include the other jurisdictions in his suggestions.

The third knowledgeable noted that "amalgamation provides the only opportunity for working out some sort of solution." It was apparent by comments made that he felt that both Parkdale and Sherwood were ready for the move, and that the other jurisdictions would soon follow.

The fourth knowledgeable made one of the most sweeping delineations of any interviewed. He included the outlying community of

Cornwall, and the districts of North River and Crossroads in the area to be involved in future development.

The fifth respondent favoured the inclusion of Parkdale, Sherwood, and Charlottetown in his development unit. He felt that the other areas were too sparsely settled to warrant inclusion in any plan for the immediate future. The last knowledgeable consulted in this area included all the seven jurisdictions. He stated that "amalgamation would hurt some initially, however, it is needed and would be beneficial in the long run." Further to the above, he added, "if a referendum was held today, it would likely go."

The Parkdale continuum (Figure 8) indicates that four knowledgeable interviewed were strongly of the opinion that the seven jurisdictions could immediately form a common system. The others had reservations about moving too fast, and felt that systemic linkage should be a gradual process.



Figure 8

Knowledgeables' Opinions About Parkdale

The Sherwood jurisdiction. This community was in a position during and after 1957 to amalgamate with Parkdale and Charlottetown. From data gathered, they voted for amalgamation but were retained in their decision because of Parkdale. This is due to the geographical

location of Parkdale between Sherwood and Charlottetown. The responses given by the knowledgeable concerning delineation of the area reflected that earlier community decision.

The first knowledgeable replied that the jurisdictions should "shoot for the works" in delineation. This meant that the seven jurisdictions should be included. One very positive statement made by the second knowledgeable was that, "its nice to run your own show if you can afford it, but this area can't live on in this manner." This knowledgeable supported including the seven jurisdictions amalgamating for future development. He related this as necessary for any over-all plans that would serve the needs of the jurisdictions.

The third knowledgeable also included the seven jurisdictions in his assessment of the area to be involved in future development. He said that "progress is being made at present, and it will all piece together eventually." He cautioned that amalgamation would come, but would take time.

The fourth knowledgeable also thought that all of the seven jurisdictions should come together, but appeared cautious. He emphasized the need for Parkdale, Charlottetown, and Sherwood to come together in the near future.

The fifth knowledgeable thought that the jurisdictions were ready to begin to work together. He reflected on the costs of separate jurisdictions, and indicated that a strong enough group of people could get things moving with little negative feedback.

The last knowledgeable interviewed in Sherwood strongly supported unification of "at least the seven jurisdictions." He

indicated that Sherwood had been ready for over ten years.

Plotting these data on the continuum indicates the readiness of most knowledgeable for constructive social action in the greater Charlottetown urban area. Five of the knowledgeable indeed appeared very anxious for development in the area.

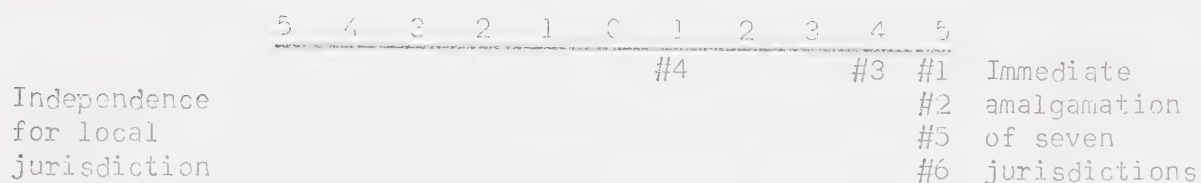


Figure 9

Knowledgeables' Opinions About Sherwood

The City of Charlottetown jurisdiction. The central city's knowledgeable persons as a whole were concerned with the growing population and geographical spread. As regards physical characteristics and economic and political problems, they agreed that the City and fringe sub-communities had much in common and needed to be treated largely as one physical and social entity; thus making it easier for the solution of both long- and short-range problems. The following are the specific responses by the fourteen knowledgeable interviewed.

The first person made sweeping statements about territory to be considered for future development. He said it should include "Cornwall in the west, Mermaid in the southeast, and territory east to Riverside hospital."

The second knowledgeable person suggested that North River, the Royalties, Parkdale, Sherwood, and Charlottetown should be included.

He had doubts about Southport and Bunbury, but eventually agreed that they should be considered for inclusion.

The third knowledgeable's delineation was very specific. In his words, "The area would have to be that in which all services could be provided." With respect to this, he submitted that Southport and Bunbury could not get all the services, and therefore should not be included. However, he was very specific about the Charlottetown area. The Charlottetown area shall include that area: bounded by a line following the shore of the Hillsborough River, the North River and the North Creek, so called, and extending from the Falconwood Hospital on the east to a point where a line in continuation of the north side of a road immediately south of Queens Arms, and leading from the Lower Malpeque Road to the Malpeque Road intersection at the said shore line, and thence running eastwardly by a straight line along and parallel with the last mentioned road to the Canadian National Railway right-of-way, thence northwardly and following the railway right-of-way to the Royalty Road, to the Brackley Point Road, and thence northwardly along the Brackely Point Road to its junction with a newly-constructed road along the north side of the Charlottetown air port property, thence eastwardly along the last mentioned road to the Norwood Road as newly located, thence along the Norwood Road to the St. Peters Road, thency by a straight line in a southwardly direction to the point where the east and west to the direction of southeastwardly and northwestwardly and then southeastwardly along the Falconwood Road and a line in continuation at the place of commencement.¹

¹ Maritime Electric Company, Schedule of Rates, January, 1955.

The fourth respondent suggested that "amalgamation should take place, the sooner the better." However, he was fearful of short run costs and how they would be met. The fifth respondent was in favour of amalgamation of the five jurisdictions on the Charlottetown side of the river. He was "not sure about Southport and Bunbury."

The sixth knowledgeable delineated the area for consideration as extending "as far out as Marshfield, across to Winsloe, to Flat River, across to Cornwall, and all the water front area." The seventh respondent expressed the belief "that there are too many autonomous bodies governing the needs of 20,000 people." Further to this, he suggested that the province should encourage the seven jurisdictions to amalgamate, and given them a clean slate.

The eighth respondent had faced many problems in working on projects in the City. He attributed many of these problems to lack of cooperation and coordination. He felt that the ability to work together was a prerequisite for meaningful development. He included all seven jurisdictions in his development area.

The ninth respondent also felt that all seven jurisdictions needed to be part of plans for the future. The tenth respondent delineated his development area as from "Crossroads to the other side of the airport--all jurisdictions."

The eleventh knowledgeable went beyond any other respondent's suggestions. He suggested that the development area to be considered should include "the whole service area, at least from a medical and philosophical standpoint." Although he was not too specific it seemed that he would include the entire rural area regularly serviced by the

urban community.

The twelfth knowledgeable considered that the urban area "should be all one." Thus he felt, services could better meet the needs of the people in the seven jurisdictions. The thirteenth respondent held that the area "should look twenty years ahead; extend well out." He was not more specific.

The last respondent said that he "would automatically include Parkdale and Sherwood when thinking of Charlottetown and they should all come together in the long run"; in this case 'they' being the other four jurisdictions not mentioned above.

	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Independence								#2	#5	#14	#1	Immediate
for local								#3			#4	amalgamation
jurisdiction								#6			#7	of seven
											#8	jurisdictions
											#9	
											#10	
											#11	
											#12	
											#13	

Figure 10

Knowledgeables' Opinions About Charlottetown

It is clear that Charlottetown residents favoured linking up with the outside sub-systems. Three were not sure if Bunbury and Southport were ready for that type of move, but at the same time, at least three suggested the development area should include areas beyond Bunbury and Southport. The majority felt that if meaningful ends and objectives are to be met, it is necessary to make long-range plans with at least present jurisdictions amalgamated.

Summary of Area Delineation

The findings in the seven jurisdictions, taken together, indicate that most community knowledgeable would include all seven in development plans for the future. Thus, the individual communities, or social systems, seem ready to begin working together as a general social system.

Identifying Common Problems

The process of identifying problems common to the delineated areas went on throughout the study. As previously mentioned, the problems perceived by us were in most cases also issues of concern to the knowledgeable interviewed.

One serious problem confronting the general social system was that work towards the ends and objectives of the various social systems had never been coordinated. They were thus duplicating facilities, services, et cetera. This led to unduly high unit costs.

Although it is not necessary to reiterate the problems already referred to in the review of the literature, it is important in our opinion to more closely examine the problems identified by the community knowledgeable.

A summary of responses to the question: "What are the major issues or problems facing the urban area today?" is given in the following table:

Table 5

Major Issues or Problems Reported by Forty-Two
Community Knowledgeables and
Twenty-three Community
Power Actors

Issue or problem	Number of times reported	
	Knowledgeables	Power actors
Development planning	19	23
Tax structure	9	8
Water and sewer	6	6
Water pollution	5	1
Police and fire protection	5	4
Administrative accommodation	5	1
Schools	5	3
Lack of industry	3	5
Housing	2	
Street lights	2	
Corruption in government	2	
Downtown parking	1	1
Sports complex	1	

It can be seen that Development Planning has high priority in both groups. It would be fair to say that amalgamation and master plans are the two key considerations involved in Development Planning. The tax structure and finances of the area came next. Consensus among those who singled out financing was that it was the element that had led to many of the problems now faced by the independent jurisdictions.

Water and sewer issues ranked high as problem areas. Police and fire protection, administration, accommodation, schools, and water pollution all rated equally high as issues of concern in the general social system. With regard to police, respondents held that sanctions were meted out in very undemocratic ways. One respondent remarked "what's right for me, may not be right for you--it depends on who you know." Police and fire problems were also included under the heading of administrative accommodation. Facilities for operation are very poor, especially in the City. The following appeared in The Patriot on February 6, 1970.

Among the most important of these badly needed improvements are new quarters for both the Police and Fire Departments. Both of these occupy space in the City Hall Complex, both of them find the areas inadequate--in fact it would not be stretching matters too much to say that a continuance of their occupancy might even be dangerous to future protection of the city and its people.¹

Water pollution also received considerable comment. This subject ties in with the sewage issue, the reason being that the jurisdictions have taken no action to treat the sewage before dumping it into the harbour. The build-up of raw sewage in the harbour has been serious enough to warrant attention because it is a threat to moving life, it has stopped swimming and use of beaches, and may be a deterrent to tourists. Many persons expressed the opinion that when "even the tide cannot carry it out to sea, we have to do something." As one community knowledgeable stated, "This jurisdiction will do nothing about it, until someone gets toilet paper in his drinking

¹ Charlottetown Evening Patriot, February 6, 1970.

water."

The next significant area of concern, after the obvious one of schools, was the lack of industry. This came out more strongly from the identified power structure. The plans favoured were those recommended by The Development Plan for Prince Edward Island. An extract is as follows:

The first priority is to bring about technological and educational improvements in existing undertakings in order to raise productivity and strengthen the structure itself. Another measure directed towards the existing structure will be to ensure a degree of integration of physical plant, to permit economics of scale. In view of the size of the Provincial Government's financial involvement, particularly in the food processing industry, this can be accomplished fairly easily and the Government is already moving in this direction.

A second order priority will be additions to the manufacturing base itself, to add greater potential for growth and a higher degree of diversification.¹

One respondent's comments seemed especially relevant. He said, "Our biggest problem is that we lack industry, we are losing our young people. We need employment; processing industries help, but we need others, possibly sell the Island as an educational centre." Somewhat later he mentioned, "Thank God for the tourists." Another suggested that he "would like to see an industrial park, a definite place for light industry to establish. We could also attract life insurance companies and expand the University."

Of the other issues mentioned, only one of them was considered worthy of mention by one of the twenty-three power actors interviewed.

¹Planning for P.E.I. (Queen's Printer for Canada, Ottawa, 1970).

Many other comments about community problems and issue areas were made. Several are given below. They reflect some generally felt needs:

- "By giving every citizen a vote in the seven jurisdictions after they were given the answers on taxes, water and sewer, it would likely lead to amalgamation."
- "The crunch of the matter is taxes. . . somebody has to sell the community an equitable tax structure."
- "A master plan is needed for the whole area. It should start with roads, and they should tie together the area in a manner beneficial to future development and growth."
- "People have moved out of Charlottetown to beat the taxes but still use the services. The area should be amalgamated to prevent that from happening."
- "Amalgamation would hurt some initially, however, it is needed."
- "People object to being eaten up by Charlottetown due to the tax structure. They don't really know how much it would cost to have the services."
- "It's nice to run your own show if you can afford it, but this area can't."
- "Small businesses have problems of existence, just like small communities have."
- "Look ahead twenty years."

Identified Power Actors

The power actors with whom this study is chiefly concerned will be classified as follows:

Table 6
Classification of Power Actors

Power actors	Number in category
AA, AB, AC	3
EA, BB	2
CA, CB	2
DA, DB	2
EA, EB, EC, ED,	4
FA, FB, FC, FD, FE, FG	6
GA, GB, GC	3
HA, HB, HC	3
IA, IB, IC, ID, IE, IF, IG, IH, II, IJ	10
Total	35

Each set of letters represents a person designated as a community power actor. AA was the most highly rated power actor, AB was next, then AC, and so on through the ranks to IJ.

The process of listing was the first step in obtaining a hierarchical picture of power in the Charlottetown urban area.

These persons represent only a small segment of the population in which they function. However, the group is a very salient one. The question of whether or not this group represents a social system, as

perceived in this thesis is dealt with in the following Chapter. However, the power actors clearly have influence on the general social system.

Table 7

Power Ratings of Thirty-five Power Actors by Forty-two
Community Knowledgeables and Twenty-three
Community Power Actors

Power actor	Power level	Times recognized		Total
		By 42 knowled- geables	By 23 power actors	
AA	Key leaders	12	10	22
AB		14	6	20
AC		14	5	19
BA	Top level	7	7	14
BB		9	5	14
CA		10	3	13
CB		5	8	13
DA		3	9	12
DB		5	7	12
EA	Understructure	4	7	11
EB		5	6	11
EC		7	4	11
ED		7	4	11
FA		3	7	10
FB		7	3	10
FC		4	6	10
FD		4	6	10
FE		7	3	10
FF		8	2	10
GA		7	2	9
GB		6	3	9
GC		7	2	9
HA		4	4	8
HB		7	1	8
HC		7	1	8
IA		0	7	7
IB		3	4	7
IC		3	4	7
ID		0	7	7
IE		2	5	7
IF		3	4	7
IG		1	4	5
IH		0	4	4
II		4	3	7
IJ		2	2	4

The number of times that community knowledgeable identified community-power actors ranged from fourteen to zero times. There are many clusters of leaders with the same score. The major gaps appear near the top end of the scores. The top leader received twenty-two points, followed by twenty points, and then nineteen points.

From the above table, three people (IA, ID, and IH) are listed as power actors although they were not recognized by the community knowledgeable. They were well recognized by the power actors, however. Power actors are consistently more aware of who other power actors are than are the other community knowledgeable. For instance, power actors IA, ID and IH were not identified at all by the knowledgeable while IG was recognized only once. All three were, however, recognized several times by power actors.

Chapter 6

FINDINGS

STRUCTURE

An analysis of the data obtained in the greater Charlottetown area pointed to the existence of a diversified basis for power. Some actors, however, had considerable amounts of owned or leased land and some controlled jobs and credit. A few of them, from old and well-established families, had acquired reputations as persons "to see" when attempting to determine the feasibility of a particular development or idea. Other individuals had gained influence through organizational involvements. Even if they no longer held key positions, they were identified as experienced people to consult about important community issues.

Table 8 indicates which institutional areas provide the main background of the thirty-five power actors in the greater Charlottetown urban area.

For the most part, power actors were generally fifty years old and over. Only five of the power actors in Charlottetown were under fifty years of age, and none of those five were in the very top ranks of power. It would appear that influence grows with age, at least up to a certain point.

All of the power actors identified are in the higher income group in the community. An accurate estimate of their income is difficult

Table 8
Classification of Power Actors by
Occupational Areas

Occupation	Number of power actors	Percentage
Business	26	74.3%
Government	6	17.2
Professional	3	8.5
Total	35	100.0%

although eight to ten have acquired their "million" through land speculation, merchandising and basic industries while others generally held great earning potential.

Most of the power actors are in positions of control, or have access to resources such as credit, money, and jobs. For example, they may hold positions in: firms which employ considerable numbers of people, professions which serve large numbers of people or elective offices, and tenure which depends on people's votes.

Most of the power actors in Charlottetown have above-average education as compared to their age peers. This is especially true of those power actors holding professional positions such as lawyers and medical doctors. Other power actors have generally completed high school and some have attended university. A few men though, have very little formal education, and this is to be expected for a province with the history of Prince Edward Island.

Most of the power actors can be described as self-employed,

owner, or executive. Findings showed that over seventy-five per cent of the men have positions equivalent to president of their firms. As well, all of the power actors are long-term residents of the greater Charlottetown urban area. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the family lines of many of them in the community can be traced back to before 1871.

A few studies have examined the routes to power. They have attempted to determine if there is any clearly-defined series of steps or role performances which are associated with people aspiring to power positions. Ronald Powers has tentatively suggested the following criteria for a would-be power actor. He must be active in community affairs and have done leg-work for a variety of community projects. He must also be financially successful in his own business. It is also felt that a potential power actor should have checked out ideas for community change or projects with current power actors. This gives him knowledge of the system and an understanding of how social change comes about. Another criteria for a power actor is that he must be trustworthy and dependable when working for others. Finally, he must join the "right" groups and get elected to office in such groups.

In the greater Charlottetown urban area, the identified power actors have all validated the above guidelines in part or in whole. All the power actors have been active in community affairs, have been members of community groups, and have held formal authority in these groups.

POWER ACTORS

A social system "is composed of persons who interact more with members than non-members."¹ This is certainly so in the case of power actors in Charlottetown.

Even though there is a monolithic pyramid of power, their pluralistic activities interact to a considerable degree both in business and general community living. The power actors, as a social system, have many personal and social interaction patterns that are common to other social systems.

As a newly-formed Area Development Committee,² the thirty-five power actors in the greater Charlottetown area became jointly responsible for advising and legitimizing programs and projects that arose in the general community social system. They were therefore concerned with change in the urban area and the focus this change took.

They possess certain beliefs, cognitions and sentiments. It is readily apparent that they believe in a future oriented development catering to the community's aspirations, capabilities, interests, and potential role in the province.

The Committee has sentiments about the future of the urban area. Their decision to be part of a process for social action indicates this. They feel the need to improve the area and attract new developments.

¹C. Loomis, Social Systems (Princeton, N.H.: D. Van Nostrand and Company, Inc., 1960), p. 20.

²After being identified the power actors were brought together by the Department of Development. They decided to meet regularly as an Advisory Committee.

The specific norms of the power actors working as an Advisory Committee are in the formative stage. Group decisions are made on recommendations which are continually discussed and debated as to their relevance. The status of the power actor group is considerable. They are capable of making top level decisions for the community. People expect them to do so. Their power is expressed through decision-making and their method of arriving at such decisions enhances the chances of the goals they pursue being successful.

How the power actor is ranked depends on the recognition he receives as an influential leader. Rankings have been given in the last section of Chapter 5. There is also ranking within the Advisory Committee. Some members appear to carry more weight in decision-making than others (observations based on initial meetings of the Area Development Committee).

Sanctions refer to the rewards and penalties used to obtain conformity among the Committee members. A member will be likely to receive positive sanction by others as long as his goals and actions comply with those that have been agreed upon.

Finally, the power actors have certain facilities at their disposal. Their power, and status-roles make them capable of acquiring the needed resources for programs and projects. Facilities include help from bodies including government, and community organizations whose services can be utilized to enhance projects.

Master processes evident in other social systems are common with the Area Development Committee. Communication functions as a means of decision-making. Information is gathered from outside the system, discussed internally, and communicated to various interests.

Boundary maintenance is evident when the power actors meet as an Area Development Committee. Thus, their area of discussion is definitely circumscribed.

The Area Development Committee provides a framework for socialization. It provides a continuity for social action and behavior patterns.

Systemic linkage is an important master process used by the Advisory Committee. Each individual power actor has links with other social systems in private or public life. The Area Development Committee is very strongly linked to government and the people. Without their support and linkage, the work of the Committee would have little meaning.

RELATION OF POWER ACTORS TO SOCIAL ACTION

In keeping with the social action process model established in Chapter 4, power actors must become involved in planning before a program is launched if such program is to have any degree of success. In the Prince Edward Island Development Plan, step 5 involved the power actors as legitimizers of social action. As legitimizers, they become involved in defining the need for social action, committing others to action, setting goals and objectives, and launching the program.

In the greater Charlottetown urban area, involvement of the power actors was very much as outlined in the model (Figure 2, page 35). Following their identification, power actors were brought together as a group. As mentioned, twenty-three of the thirty-five power actors were

interviewed during the study to validate information first obtained from the knowledgeable. In order to bring all thirty-five power actors together, each individual power actor was contacted by an advisor and by mail. They were informed that they had been recognized as having reputations for their influence in community actions and decisions. As well, it was pointed out that the community was relying on their help in making decisions about the future destiny of the community and in identifying needs for future adjustment and development.

During the first meeting that was held with the power actors they were asked to consider the formation of an Advisory Committee which would be of assistance to the provincial and municipal governments in planning future development. The power actors decided that they were prepared to meet again as an Advisory Committee. A committee coordinator was also appointed at this first meeting. This coordinator was neither a power actor nor a government official but was given the authority to function as a communication link between the Area Development Committee, the government, and other bodies.

In Chapter 4 a beginning was made in examining the process of social action in Charlottetown. The prior social situation within the general social system was researched. Then community problems were examined. Following the outlined steps, the initiating sets (government and elected representatives of the seven jurisdictions in the urban area) began to work together. They then decided to initiate a study which would involve the informal legitimizers or power actors in the process.

Having followed this course of social action, the legitimizers,

both formal and informal, as well as members of the public participation sector of the government, were urged to make special efforts to diffuse information to the community.

Defining the need for action cannot be defined as a distinct stage for social action in the Charlottetown case. It started by identifying the problems and continued through the work of the initiating sets. Once the Area Development Committee assembled they were immediately concerned with defining the need of their existence more formally. The Committee set up priority lists of all recognized community problems which would assist them and government during future action. Their priorities are as follows:

Table 9

The Greater Charlottetown Area Development
Committee Planning Priorities

Priority	Category
1	Municipal financing and taxation
2	Long-range goals for area
3	Education
4	Land use planning
5	Recreation facilities
6	Pollution abatement
7	Housing
8	Urban renewal
9	Municipal administrative structures
10	Water and sewer
11	Highway construction
12	Parkland
13	Police and security
14	Industrial park
15	Social problems
16	Fire fighting
17	Public transportation

Commitment to action had reasonably clear take-off points. The formal leaders became committed once they began to meet to examine their common concerns. This was obvious when the representatives of the seven jurisdictions asked the provincial government for help in organizing community-wide development. The representatives had taken this approach following "unanimous agreement that the future development of the metro area could only be achieved through the cooperation of all people and with a district-wide approach and understanding."¹ Government commitment had taken place with the establishment of the Department of Development of Prince Edward Island in 1969. This department of government was to be the vehicle of provincial socio-economic development in the early years of the Development Plan. The informal legitimizers committed themselves when they agreed to form the Metro Area Development Committee.

Goals for development were loosely defined with the recognition of a problem situation. As the formal leaders recognized their specific difficulties, goals became more rigidly defined. The Area Development Committee had at first tended to be concerned with the need to solve immediately pressing problems in the area.² They soon realized, however, that planning for action should relate also to long-range goals, and should be coordinated with Department Plan objectives

¹Taken from Notice of Meeting of April 28, 1970, which was set up by the seven jurisdictions.

²See Appendix A, Submission to the Government of Prince Edward Island.

to increase the standard of well-being of the Island's citizens without incurring adverse ecological and environmental effects. Secondly, the Advisory Committee realized that the major resource of the greater Charlottetown urban area is its natural environment coupled with its historical heritage, a fact that would have to be considered when making long-range plans for the future.

Thus, the Area Development Committee decided to recommend to government that the greater Charlottetown urban area should become a focal point in eastern North America for individuals and corporations desiring attractive spots for recreation conventions and seminar facilities, and that in this connection the government should retain a competent group of planners to carry out land use planning in the area.

Then, as the goals of the Area Development Committee became more detailed, a plan of work began to emerge. It was realized that the means needed for development would depend on specific plans for the future and that if the managers of the provincial Development Plan and the Charlottetown Area Development Committee agreed broadly as to goals and possible means, money requirements could then be considered.

At this point the provincial government assigned a group of planners to work with the Advisory Committee. The Committee would sanction their findings. Further action toward mobilizing resources for launching the program is dependent on the feasibility of the resulting plan of work. A decision on this will be made ultimately by the Development Plan managers once the planning team has completed their

study. This is the stage at which the process now rests. If the plan of work is positively sanctioned by the Plan Managers and the Advisory Committee, much of the needed money, resource people, and information can be made available to carry out the action steps because of the existence of a Federal-Provincial Development Plan.

Social Action and Community Development Theory

By definition, 'community development' encompasses two major types of community work which authors have distinguished. One type of community work is social animation. Social animation refers to the educational-motivational process that is often necessary in communities to create local involvement of people. Through this process people become more competent to live and gain more control over local aspects of a frustrating and changing world.¹ The second type of community work, human resources development, has been used to refer to a "coordinated program of approaches and techniques which rely on local communities as units of action to purposefully change living conditions by making use of all available resources."²

In both of the above cases there is concern with people in delineated communities. Community development first educates and motivates the community and then moves along towards initiating and carrying out programs for development. Thus it is concerned with

¹W. Biddle and L. Biddle, The Community Development Process (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966), p. 78.

²C. A. S. Hynam, "Community Development: An Example of Conceptual Confusion," in Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism, ed. B. Y. Card (Edmonton: University of Alberta Printing Services, 1968).

over-all improvement and objectives which are based on needs. In the social action process needs are defined from initiating groups and sold to the people. This is in clear opposition to purist community development ideology.¹

The role of the community development worker is recognized as serving as a catalyst for local change and improvement. He must encourage the people without planning for them. Then, through specialized assistance he fosters and sustains development. A common approach is to identify community leaders and organize viable groups which can make decisions independently from the workers. Desmond Connor identifies four major roles: 1) observer, 2) diagnostician, 3) strategist, and 4) stimulator.² Being able to perform these roles, the community development worker assists in helping equip community people with necessary tools to deal with their own human and physical resources.

This analysis of community development points out that its processes and programs resemble the stages outlined in the social action model used herein. Both work with a certain social system or community, examine problems and needs, work with relevant groups of people, set goals and objectives, operationalize work plans through mobilizing resources, and so on. The social action process really begins with

¹Arthur Dunham, The New Community Organization (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970), p. 86.

²D. M. Connor, "Roles for the Community Development Worker," Community Development Journal, 8 (October, 1967), p. 22.

definition of needs, motivation of people, and follows through with programs for improvement. What it does is put community development as process and program in heuristic stages. This would seem to help with evaluation and continual examination of development.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The present study was designed to identify community power actors in the greater Charlottetown urban area, and relate them to an on-going process of social action. Seven jurisdictions comprising the urban area were investigated to gather needed information. Information was obtained from a variety of sources through formal interviews with community knowledgeable and power actors identified.

Much of the information gathered in this thesis was based on information collected during four months employment with the Government of Prince Edward Island.

The area of study has problems typical of other urban areas of North America.

Most of the power actors tended to be businessmen who work in the central business district. They live in various jurisdictions that compose the urban area although over fifty per cent live in a somewhat exclusive area of the City of Charlottetown.

In all cases, the influence held by the power actors stemmed from one or more factors including inherited wealth, a degree of control over jobs, control over wages, and success in community and business affairs.

The power actors were determined from an estimated urban

population of 26,000. Information was obtained from 42 community knowledgeable and 23 power actors who, as representatives of the urban area, identified 35 power actors and also identified issues of community concern which could later be incorporated into development programs.

The seven jurisdictions in the greater Charlottetown urban area would appear to be better prepared for the years to come as one unit if the short-range costs could be overcome. Delineation of the urban area indicated that thirty-eight of forty-two community knowledgeable interviewed favored unification of the jurisdictions. Power actors unanimously favored amalgamation. This process appears to be very time-consuming.

A study of the area's problems indicated that land use planning was the most pressing. This problem appeared related to all the others, including population growth, cost of utilities, the need for educational facilities, and the cost of financing improvements. All problems led back to the need for a good master plan.

Thirty-five power actors were identified. The most influential was identified by 33 per cent of those interviewed. The least recognized were identified by 6.2 per cent of those interviewed. Results indicated a definite hierarchical picture of power which represented only a small segment of the urban area's population.

Seventy-five per cent of the power actors derived their influence from business, 17 per cent from government, and eight per cent from professional spheres of influence. The power actors were generally middle-aged men, and hold considerable wealth. They were also comparatively well-educated compared to the provincial population.

How did these men attain positions of power? They were generally active in community affairs at one point in time, they were financially successful in business, they had ideas of community change sanctioned by current power actors, and they held a good general knowledge of the social systems. Also important was their decision to join the right groups and to get elected to office in such groups.

The identified power actors were brought together as a group and chose to form an "Area Development Committee." By so doing they elected to legitimize planning for future development. They established priorities to develop the Greater Charlottetown urban area ranging from municipal financing and land use planning to the construction of recreation facilities and pollution abatement. Their planning related to long-range goals, which would preserve the environment. The natural environment, coupled with its historical heritage was recognized as the major resource of the urban area by the power actors.

The relationship of the Area Development Committee to a social action process for development was very much as indicated in the conceptual framework. They were not initiators of development, but tended to sanction and legitimize the actions of the initiating groups.

CONCLUSIONS

The power actors, as a group, are one resource that helps to make up a coordinated program for community betterment. This became clear as the study identified thirty-five power actors and their spheres of influence in the greater Charlottetown urban area.

Through the examination of social systems and social action,

the study recognized that power actors can legitimize, advise, and strengthen the process of social action because of the influence they have on their communities. Power actors can also use their influence with government to make officialdom responsive to local needs. Otherwise, programs handed down from above may never gain local support.

It is evident that power actors have special skills in areas of decision-making. Their personal success points to this. They are likely to be able to give good advice as to which projects and programs deserve positive sanction because they have faced similar decisions before.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This study of community power and its relation to a particular social action process is only a small contribution to data about the nature and use of community power in urban Canada. It is hoped that it will be followed by other studies in Prince Edward Island. More specifically, an in-depth study of the Greater Charlottetown Area Development Committee in 4-5 years would provide valuable information concerning the sustained relationship of power actors to social action. It would also reveal changes in the nature of power actors.

It is further suggested that:

1. Community power studies such as the study described herein should be undertaken in all Canadian areas where Development Plans are established.
2. The studies should identify the spheres of influence of community power actors.

3. Power actors should be well-informed of the goals and objectives of Development Plans so that they might legitimize the plans.
4. Power actors should be involved as a group when possible in the process and programs of development.
5. Information programs about development goals should be established for the general public.

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APPENDIX A

SUBMISSION TO THE GOVERNMENT OF PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

FROM

THE GREATER CHARLOTTETOWN AREA DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

After several months consideration, the Greater Charlottetown Area Development Committee respectfully submits this initial brief.

LONG RANGE GOALS:

At first, Committee discussions tended to be concerned with immediate needs to solve pressing problems in the area. It was soon realized however, that all action and planning for action should be related to ultimate, long range goals for the area. In order to select goals capable of being achieved, the following points were considered:

(a) Development Plan Objectives

Goals for the greater Charlottetown area should align with Development Plan objectives. The Committee's understanding of the overall plan objective is that the income of the Island's citizens is to be increased without incurring adverse ecology and environmental effects.

(b) Resources of the Area

The major resource of the greater Charlottetown area is its natural environment coupled with its historical heritage.

(c) North American Needs

What will individuals and corporations need five years from now that we have the potential capacity to provide? Apparently individuals are going to have increasing amounts of leisure time and increasing incomes. Corporations are tending to invest more in retraining seminar sessions

to keep employees abreast of our rapidly changing technological society.

From these considerations, a goal for the greater Charlottetown area emerges. This goal is that the area become a focal point in eastern North America for individuals and corporations desiring recreation, convention and seminar facilities. When the proposed pollution abatement program has been implemented and the necessary recreational, convention and seminar facilities have been provided, the area will have become such a "good place to live" it will no doubt attract head offices and possibly light industry simply because of its excellent environment.

PLANNING:

In order to achieve the long range goal for the area, comprehensive planning is obviously necessary. The Committee recommends that the government retain a competent group to carry out land use planning in the area including the development or possible redevelopment of sites for the convention, seminar and recreational facilities referred to above. While the planners would necessarily report to the Government, the Committee wishes to be involved in the setting of guide lines for the planners, and have periodic interviews with the planners. It is also recommended that the planning group be required to operate to a fixed time schedule so that the implementation stage can be reached as quickly as possible.

FACILITIES AND FUNDS:

Until the planners have completed their work, it is not possible to accurately predict the amount of money necessary to construct the

facilities necessary to permit goal achievement. However, since the Development Plan is under major review, the Greater Charlottetown Area Development Committee strongly urges the Government and Plan Administrators to allocate several million dollars for a development program in the greater Charlottetown area. At this point in time it appears that these funds would be necessary to construct the following facilities:

- (a) A large convention/seminar centre. It is suggested that this complex be erected along the Charlottetown waterfront or in some other blighted area in the lower part of the City. This project could be combined with a marina facility and with an urban renewal of the area. It could tie in with the existing Confederation Centre complex and possibly use some of the facilities of the Centre.
- (b) The Committee also recommends a central sports complex be constructed near the University of Prince Edward Island which would provide for a broad range of sporting activities. The construction of this facility could become a major project for the provincial centennial year. It is suggested that it be designed to accommodate Canadian Winter and Summer games. It could also be used as a National Hockey League training camp in the off season and could serve both the University and the local citizens. Any accommodation units constructed for this complex could be used for students during the University year and as tourist accommodation units in the peak tourist months. The complex would include at least a hockey rink built to N.H.L. standards, an olympic pool with viewing gallery and accommodation units for participants.

(c) The Committee also requests that consideration be given to the establishment of a municipal services building containing central police and fire fighting facilities. This central building would probably function in cooperation with satellite stations located in strategic locations throughout the greater Charlottetown area.

(d) Implementation of the above or similar projects will increase the demand for infrastructure developments such as a direct, high speed, limited access road from airport to downtown core; a Trans-Canada highway Charlottetown by-pass; improved port facilities; the placing of overhead utilities underground.

The above recommendations are respectfully submitted after some months of consideration by the Committee. The Committee will continue to review the area's needs and refine its recommendations; as indicated, it wishes to work with a professional planning group to develop a comprehensive plan for the area.

The Committee wonders whether or not it might function more effectively, particularly in the recreational sector, if its area of representation was extended from shore to shore in Queen's county. This is a point for discussion with the plan managers and the government.

SUMMARY:

1. The long range goal for the Greater Charlottetown Area is to become a major recreation, convention and seminar centre for Eastern North America.
2. The Government is requested to retain planners to work with the

Committee to develop a comprehensive plan which will achieve the long range goal.

3. The Government is requested to allocate several million dollars from the Development Plan to construct:
 - (a) A convention/seminar centre.
 - (b) A provincial centennial sports complex.
 - (c) A central municipal services building.
 - (d) Supporting infrastructure.
4. The Government is requested to consider the extension of the Committee's area of representation.

Respectfully submitted by the Greater Charlottetown Area Development Committee.

B30010